

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 02648 01 OF 02 291529Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----291533Z 125168 /40

O R 291416Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7679
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 2648

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, RH
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONSULTATIVE GROUP CONVERSATIONS
IN SALISBURY

REF: PRETORIA 2647

1. WE ARRIVED IN SALISBURY TO FIND THAT SMITH HAD PREPARED
THE GROUND THROUGH THREE INTERVIEWS (TIME, BBC, AND THE
LOCAL PAPER) ALL POINTING TO THE FRANCHISE AS THE CENTRAL
ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION, AND ALL REJECTING UNIVERSAL ADULT
SUFFRAGE OUT OF HAND.

2. WE MET FOR 5 OR 6 HOURS ON THURSDAY AND FRIDAY WITH
JACK GAYLARD, SECRETARY OF THE CABINET; A RHODESIAN
CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER; AND SECRETARY FOR LAW AND ORDER,
PETER CLAYPOLE. THE LAYED OUT IN UNEQUIVOCAL AND RIGID
TERMS SMITH'S MAXIMUM POSITION. THE MADE CLEAR THAT IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 02648 01 OF 02 291529Z

ORDER TO ASSURE THE WHITE CONFIDENCE NECESSARY FOR THEM
TO REMAIN IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE, A SERIES OF
GUARANTEES AND ASSURANCES WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION
OR LEGISLATION AND AN EARLY DEESCALATION OF HOSTILITIES
WERE NECESSARY. THE PROPOSED SEPARATE WHITE AND BLACK
VOTING ROLLS WITH A FRANCHISE LIMITED TO ABOUT 20 PER
CENT OF THE POPULATION; A BLOCKING ONE-THIRD WHITE

PRESENCE IN THE LEGISLATURE (WITH TWO-THIRDS REQUIRED FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT); AND DELAYING (BUT NOT VETOING) UPPER HOUSE FOR CHIEFS AND MINORITIES. ON TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS, THE SOUGHT MAINTENANCE OF THE EXISTING REGULAR ARMY INTACT AND RESISTED SUGGESTIONS TO RETURN FREEDOM FIGHTERS UNDER ARMS FOR INCORPORATION INTO IT. THEY PUT GREAT STRESS ON THE NEED FOR A ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND WHICH GUARANTEED THE GOVERNMENT PENSION FUND. WE MADE EQUALLY CLEAR THE BASIS ON WHICH WE WERE ENTERING THE NEGOTIATIONS: CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE US AND UK, BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH VARIOUS PARTIES, BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES OF DOMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE OF SOMETHING CLOSE TO IT, AND BILL OF RIGHTS, ETC. WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT NEITHER THE NATIONALISTS NOR THE WORLD AT LARGE WOULD ACCEPT A SHARPLY LIMITED FRANCHISE AS A BASIS FOR MAJORITY RULE AND NOTED THEY COULD PROVIDE NEITHER A GUARANTEE OF STABILITY NOR ASSURANCE OF ADEQUATE WHITE REPRESENTATION FOR BLOCKING PURPOSES.

3. AT THE END OF THE TALKS FRIDAY AFTERNOON WE SAY SMITH. HE STARTED OFF THE CONVERSATION EQUALLY ADAMENT IN REJECTING UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE AND INSISTING ON STRONG BLOCKING MECHANISMS AND OTHER CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES. AS THE CONVERSATION PROGRESSED, HOWEVER, HE INDICATED THAT IT WAS THE TOTAL PACKAGE WHICH COUNTED. HE MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ONE MAN ONE VOTE IF THE REST OF THE PACKAGE WAS ADEQUATE TO MAINTAIN WHITE CONFIDENCE AND PROTECT HIM FROM THE ACCUSATION THAT HE BE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 02648 01 OF 02 291529Z

SOLD OUT AFTER ALL THESE YEARS OF STRUGGLE. SMITH APPEARED TIRED AND DISTANT. HE MADE CLEAR THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE GOING TO BE TOUGH AND THAT HE, HIMSELF, WOULD NOT BE TAKING A MAJOR ROLE IN THEM, BUT HE DEFINITELY HELD OUT THE PROMISE OF SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THE FRANCHISE QUESTION. THIS WAS LATER CONFIRMED IN AN INFORMAL CONVERSATION WHICH GRAHAM AND I HELD WITH GAYLARD, WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE CONVERSATION. GAYLARD EMPHASIZED THAT SMITH HAD MADE NO PROMISES BUT THAT HE HAD NOT RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A BROAD FRANCHISE PROVIDED HE COULD GET A SALEABLE PACKAGE WITH ADEQUATE SAFE GUARDS AND TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ASSURED RAPID DEESCALATION OF HOSTILITIES. BOTH SMITH AND GAYLARD URGED US TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS AND INDICATED A CLEAR DESIRE FOR AN EARLY SETTLEMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 02648 02 OF 02 011000Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----011002Z 019833 /10/40

O R 291416Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7680
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 2648

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y TEXT PARA 5 LINE 9 & 10

4. WE WERE BOMBARDED BY MEETING REQUESTS FROM INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS. OF ABOUT 25 SUCH REQUESTS WE SETTLED ON INE GROUPS WHICH CAME TO SEE US AT 45 MINUTE INTERVALS DURING THE DAY ON SATURDAY AND SOME OF THE PREVIOUS EVENINGS. WE SAY AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISTS, WHITE LIBERALS, ZUPO, BLACK NATIONALISTS, FARMERS, AND WOMENS GROUPS. WE MADE CONTACT WITH THE POLITICAL SUPPORTERS OF EACH OF THE FOUR NATIONALIST GROUPS, AND MET WITH THREE OF THEIRS (CHINAMANO OF ZAPU WAS OUT OF TOWN). WHILE MOST WERE WELL INTENTIONED, FEW HAD THOUGHT THROUGH THE POLITICAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE QUESTIONS OF FRANCHISE, BLOCKING MECHANISMS, REPRESENTATION OR THE STRUCTURE OF A GOVERNMENT WHICH THEY WISHED TO SEE GOVERN THE COUNTRY.

5. WE HAD THE IMPRESSION, NOT ONLY FROM OUR OWN MEETING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 02648 02 OF 02 011000Z

WITH SMITH, BUT ALSO FROM COMMENTS OF OTHERS, THAT SMITH IS TIRED AND PROVIDING RELATIVELY LITTLE LEADERSHIP IN THE ATTEMPT TO REACH A SETTLEMENT. HE CLEARLY WANTS A

SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL PERMIT HIM TO SAY THAT HE HAS PRE-SERVED THE PLACE OF THE WHITE IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE AND RETURN THE COUNTRY TO PEACE, BUT HE IS NOT PREPARED TO CAMPAIGN FOR IT. IN THE MEANTIME, WITHIN THE WHITE COMMUNITY THERE IS QUITE OBVIOUSLY AN OVERWHELMING IF INCHOATE DESIRE FOR A SETTLEMENT BASED ON MAJORITY RULE AND A BROAD FRANCHISE. THE DIE-HARDS ARE VOCAL AND ORGANIZED, WHILE THOSE WHO WANT ACCOMMODATION HAVE NOT YET THOUGH THROUGH THE ISSUES, DEFINED THEIR POSITIONS OR FOUND A WAY TO EXPRESS THEM.

6. WE WERE IMPRESSED THAT SOME OF THE SENIRO PROFESSIONALS AND CIVIL SERVANTS HAD A MUCH GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION. A CONVERSATION WITH THE COMMANDING GENERAL OF THE ARMY WAS REFRESHINGLY REALISTIC. EVEN OUR INTERLOCUTORS GAYLARD AND CLAYPOLE MADE IT QUITE CLEAR TO US THAT THEY WERE CARRYING OUT THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE "POLITICIANS." CLAYPOLE IN PARTICULAR EXPRESSED PRIVATELY HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WAS NO CHOICE BUT ACCOMMODATION AND FAIRLY SOON. GAYLARD IS EXTREMELY CLOSE TO SMITH AND WOULD NEVER UNDERMINE HIM. BUT HE ALSO RECOGNIZES THE POSITION MUST MOVE, AND IS CLEARLY PLANNING FOR AN EARLY END TO HIS OWN PARTICIPATION IN EVENTS.

7. ONE IS LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS FLEXIBILITY IN THE RHODESIAN POSITION AND SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER EVEN IF IT IS BEING FORCED ON SMITH. NEVERTHELESS, ONE CANNOT HELP BUT RECALL THE MANY TIMES IN THE PAST WHEN SMITH HAS INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER REASONABLE SETTLEMENTS ONLY TO

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 02648 02 OF 02 011000Z

PULL THE RUG OUT FROM UNDER THE NEGOTIATIONS WHEN AN END WAS NEAR. BOTH GRAHAM AND I ARE CONVINCED THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE, APPROACHING THE NATIONALISTS ON THE BASIS THAT WE THINK WE CAN GET UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE IF THEY ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SOME REASONABLE DELAY OR BLOCKING MECHANISMS IN THE MENDMENT PROCESS, WHILE WORKING ON DEFINING PEOPLES IDEAS ON THE DETAILS OF THE CONSTITUTION. GRAHAM WANTS TO RETURN TO SALISBURY TOWARDS THE END OF JUNE, WHEN WE HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF HOW FAR THE NATIONALISTS WILL GO. BOWDLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, SUFFRAGE, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 29-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR02648
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770192-0748
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977055/aaaaaebg.tel
Line Count: 219
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ee8c3d92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 PRETORIA 2647
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2492107
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SUMMARY OF CONSULTATIVE GROUP CONVERSATIONS IN SALISBURY
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, RH, (SMITH, IAN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ee8c3d92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009